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Tuesday, October 1, 1957

Prof. Pescha.

I attended a meeting of the Public Affairs Officers from all over Germany this morning. It was interesting to hear their reports on the incidents at Little Rock, which had been so widely reported in the continental press. Whereas the reaction has been bitter in most European countries, in Germany the criticism has been limited. Our people ascribe this to the great number of German editors and commentators who have been in the United States on exchange programs and realize the difficulty and delicacy of the integration question.

Father Koncius, head of the United Lithuanian Relief Agency, came to see me. He had just been in Poland. His organization is extending aid to Lithuanians as far distant as Eastern Siberia, to which he reports some 200,000 were transported by the Russians. First, they were put in forced labor camps, but now many of them have been allowed to work on farms.

Edwin Hartrich, head of an American public relations firm in Duesseldorf, having amongst others the Krupp Company as a customer, talked to me about the speech to be delivered by Krupp or his representative at the meeting of European leaders of finance and industry under the auspices of Time-Life and Fortune at San Francisco the latter part of this month. (In this connection Henry Luce telegraphed an

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invitation for Henry Tasca to attend this meeting, and I recommended to the Department he be allowed to go at Government expense.) Hartrich assisted in writing the speech to be delivered by Krupp, and says it will outline a new plan for the development of the economies of backward countries.

The Portuguese Ambassador, Rocheta, came to call. He is an especially attractive diplomat.

I lunched at Elim O'Shaughnessy's with Buffum and State Secretary Globke from the Chancellor's office. Globke is very impressive, an old civil servant, calm, collected, agreeable, embarrassingly frank. He talked to us about the feeling in the Government in favor of getting rid of Dr. Schaeffer as Finance Minister. From a political standpoint, this would be difficult since Schaeffer is a powerful member of the CSU. Globke was careful not to indicate who was pro- or anti-Schaeffer, but the rumor is widespread that the Chancellor would like to dispose of him. I should think, from all reports, he had done an excellent job as a watchdog of the Treasury, but has carried his restrictions on expenditures to a point embarrassing to the implementation of foreign policy.

We had a staff meeting this afternoon and afterwards we went to Cologne for the opening of the American Pavilion at the Food Fair. Standing in line with Mr. Taggart, the Acting Agricultural Attache, and delegates from the Department of Agriculture, we received several

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hundred people. Afterwards several of us made short speeches and the Oberbuergermeister of Cologne responded. I saw Dr. Max Adenauer who said he was in communication with the Guggenheim Foundation, and the collection would be shown at Cologne in January.

Upon my return home, I found Lorraine and John Cooper had arrived from Vienna, and we sat up late talking about political matters, especially the disarmament conference. John is now serving in the United States Senate for a third term. As Ambassador to India, he did brilliantly. His judgment is excellent, and he is one of the fairest and most courteous men in the Senate. John wanted yesterday in Frankfurt to see some members of the Hesse family. It appears he arrived there during the war the day after the Germans left the city. The Americans were asked by the British to try to liberate from Buchenwald Prison Princess Mafalda, daughter of the King of Italy, married to the Prince of Hesse. Hesse had apparently behaved [redacted] badly about her. He was a confirmed Nazi and, after the Italian surrender, or before, deserted her and their children. The Germans sent her to Buchenwald where, after an accident, she had an arm amputated and died. No one knew [redacted] of her fate for a year or longer. Cooper was sent by his Commanding Officer to Buchenwald where he arrived just after the American troops had entered. He spoke in some detail about its horrors, which beggar description. At any

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rate, he found she had died but had not been burned in the great crematories. He was then sent back to give this news to the good Hesses.

He said the thing that struck him the most about the survivors at Buchenwald was the fact that, all having been starved, their heads had shrunk to a noticeable degree. There were still ditches filled with skeletons of men and women dead of starvation, piled neatly like railroad ties. General Patton marched 5000 Germans from Weimar on foot and made them go through all portions of the camp. Cooper said what impressed him most about this operation was the impassivity of the Germans, most of whom kept their eyes on the ground and refused to regard what was around them.

Wednesday, October 2, 1957

Frau Toscha.

Representative L. Mendel Rivers (D-S. C.) came to see me this morning. We have many mutual friends in Charleston and its vicinity, and I enjoyed [redacted] talking to him about developments in the past few years since the end of my active interest in that community.

Senator Homer E. Capehart (R-Indiana) also called here. He has just arrived after a trip to Moscow, Warsaw, Prague, and Berlin. I would judge Senator Capehart, whom I have known for many years, to be a man of little imagination but much shrewdness. His family

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made a fortune in radio, phonographic and like enterprises. He was not favorably impressed by the progress in the Soviet Union and satellite countries in the fields with which he was particularly familiar, but thought their progress in heavy industry, and especially in the manufacture of machine tools, was noteworthy. He estimates that a great shortage of consumer goods still exists and believes the economies of the Communist countries he visited (leaving out the East Sector of Berlin) indicate a resolution on their part to devote the major part of their energy and finances to the production of war materials.

The following lunched with us today: Sen. and Mrs. Capehart, Sen. and Mrs. Cooper, Repr. and Mrs. L. Mendel Rivers, Mr. and Mrs. Henry Holthusen (Consultant to Senate Committee on Foreign Aid), Messrs. Paul Cyr and James B. Cash, Jr., (staff members of the Senate Banking & Currency Committee), Lou Hiner (press correspondent from Indianapolis) and Escort Officers Lt. Col. Albert S. Dereskevich and Maj. George C. Eblen.

This afternoon I saw Messrs. Winebrenner and McLaughlin, who are stationed in Frankfurt in the offices of the corporations dominated by my old OSS associate, C. V. Starr. They had a letter of introduction to me from Bill Youngman. They had nothing to ask in the way of assistance from the Embassy, but were making a social call.

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Dr. Seebohm, Minister of Transport, and Dr. Schubert, head of the Sea Traffic Section in Hamburg, came to thank me for the assistance rendered by the U. S. Air Force in connection with the rescue work for survivors of the PAMIR.

We had a dinner at home tonight for the following guests: Soviet Amb. and Mrs. Smirnowa, Indian Ambassador Nambiar, Danish Ambassador Hvaas, Baron and Baroness Wolfgang Welck, Senator and Mrs. John Sherman Cooper, Minister and Mrs. William C. Trimble, Elim O'Shaughnessy, Fred Flott, Rebecca Wellington, Mary Cutler, and Lt. and Mrs. Christopher Thoron.

Thursday, October 3, 1957

Frau Toscha.

I went with John Cooper this morning to see the Chancellor. We found him looking well. He said he was worried about the weakness of the Government in France, accented by the recent overthrow of Bourges-Manoury. He thought any change for the better there was dependent on a change in the constitution to give greater power to the executive. Also, he believed the U. K. will continue to encounter great economic and financial difficulties. He told Cooper the most desirable single thing, in his view, was for the United States to take a position of strong leadership in NATO. John asked him how he would regard a withdrawal of American troops from Europe. The answer was, "A

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catastrophe and the end of everything." He said his chief preoccupation now was the policy to be adopted by the FedRep toward the East, and especially the satellites. He referred to the rumor generally rampant that Yugoslavia and Poland expected to recognize the DDR. He said he had not made up his mind as to what to do in such event, but before taking any decision he would consult with the United States.

Eleanor Dulles has been suffering from a very bad cold, but nothing impairs her vitality for long, and she appeared this morning to talk to me about the hospital proposed for Berlin. I continue enthusiastic about this, but it would be a complicated affair to work out and to finance.

The Korean Minister, Sohn, called on me. He has not been here very long, but had previously spent a good deal of time in Germany.

Herr Ollenhauer came to lunch with me alone. We had a long talk, in the course of which he seemed completely frank about his views regarding foreign policy. Most of the conversation centered on control of fissionable materials. I tried to point out to him the necessary connection between cessation of tests and cessation of manufacture. He is very likeable and decent, and I think a man of thorough good will. This is the first chance I have had to talk with him freely. He expressed no bitterness about the election and, now that it is over, will, I believe, be more sympathetic to the foreign policy aims of the United States

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Government. He agreed on the unlikelihood of a successful negotiation - certainly for some time to come - on the subject of the reunification of Germany except upon terms entirely unacceptable to the Western Germans.

We talked a little of our previous connection in London during the war. I think he remains grateful for the care taken of him there by my organization, to which he was of the greatest assistance. I really had a delightful time.

Nordness has arrived to take up his duties as Public Affairs Officer, and I had a talk with him and Joe Phillips. John Cooper went off to see Minister Erhard with Henry Tasca.

Mike Handler arrived. He had just returned from England where he has put his daughter in an English public school. He spoke of the dilapidated condition of the English railwaysand what seemed to him to be a let-down in the habits of work of the people in London. He is gloomy about their economic prospects over the long term.

I paid my return call on the Turkish Ambassador, Iksel, this afternoon. He is an engaging fellow. He says his Government is gravely concerned over the way things are going in Syria. Somewhat to my surprise, he said his military people feel the Syrian Army is, if not first class, at least as efficient as any other in the Arab world. He does not think they wish to engage at this time in any war of conquest

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but may be preparing eventually to take over Lebanon and Jordan. The finances of the Turkish Government are in bad condition but nothing constructive is likely to happen there pending their forthcoming elections.

At 7:15, E. and I went to the Community General Assembly. This was an interesting meeting, something like a New England town meeting. Various committees represent this community and engage in such activities as running the club, the commissary, the motion picture theatre, Girl Scouts, and other operations of various natures. The highlight of the evening was the rendition of the financial report by Bob Loupe, accompanied by picture slides. The way he presented the subject was as amusing as if he were on the stage. We arrived home late and had dinner with the Coopers, who are leaving tomorrow for Berlin and thereafter for Madrid. I do think John is as superior a man as I have ever met.

Friday, October 4, 1957

Frau Toscha.

Henry Regnery came to see me this morning, introduced by Dr. Frank Howley, Vice President of New York University. He is from Chicago and is a man of considerable wealth. He has founded a publishing house and produced some interesting books on the international situation. He is greatly interested in international affairs, particularly

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in connection with Germany and the United States.

I had a stag lunch at home arranged by Irwin Tobin, our Labor Attache. The guests were Willi Richter, Kurt Stuehler, Bernhard Tacke, Henry Tasca, Elim O'Shaughnessy and Tobin. I found the Germans extremely agreeable, and we had a lot of fun. The three are ranking members of the nine-man Executive Board of the great German trade union, DGB. Richter and Stuehler are going on a "leader grant" trip in November to the United States, where they will attend the AFL-CIO Congress in Atlantic City. All of them suffered variously at the hands of the Nazis and served in the German Army during the last war.

I attended the memorial services this afternoon at Stimson Chapel for Major and Mrs. Jack Duffy's son, who died several days ago of cerebral palsy. The service was beautifully conducted by Rev. Hammer. The boy was a hopeless cripple and there had never been, since he was first stricken, a chance for his recovery.

Tonight I had a dinner for the Federal Minister for Economics, Professor Dr. Ludwig Erhard. The other guests were Prof. Dr. Alfred Mueller-Armack, Chief, Economic Policy Division, Ministry for Economics, Henry Tasca, and Dave Thomson.

Saturday, October 5, 1957

Office. I sent the following telegram today covering our

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conversation last night with Erhard:

BEGIN QUOTE

CONFIDENTIAL

PERSONAL TO SECRETARY AND DILLON FROM BRUCE - EYES ONLY

I would not address you this lengthy message except for my concern over what seems to me to be deteriorating European financial picture. Erhard with his able assistant Mueller-Armack dined with me last night together with Tasca and Thomson of Embassy.

This Minister is most powerful member of Adenauer Cabinet and only one favorably mentioned by Chancellor during recent campaign in which he proved himself formidable vote-getter. He is often referred to as real architect of FedRep economic and financial recovery.

Conversation lasted several hours. Erhard was very frank. Although usually optimistic, his present attitude is one of depression caused principally by (a) near chaos in French political and financial situation, (b) German balance of payments position in EPU and criticism abroad of its tremendous gold and hard currency reserves.

Unless something constructive is shortly done in above regards, Erhard considers entire multilateral payments system upon which liberalization of trade, the Common Market, and the expansion of trade and production have been erected will be jeopardized. Specifically, he thinks the Common Market will not function unless French clean house.

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He indicated choices facing Germany may be to accept inflation or breakdown multilateral system. He is bitterly opposed to inflation in Germany. Believes only presently prospective and preferable alternative might be upward revaluation of mark but effect of this would afford only temporary relief to debtor partners and basically would be unsound measure. He believes free convertibility of European currencies essential but impossible to achieve as long as France is impotent.

He declares his Govt willing to devote perhaps as much as one-third of reserves to support of long range plan to redress effects of existing imbalances. To evolve such plan bilateral conversations between U. S. and FedRep Govts necessary and before Germany is pressured further to do something unilaterally for France. These would be followed by multilateral talks amongst selected nations including U. K., Canada and France once a tentative program was ready for presentation. The IMF would not be consulted until later.

He pleads for U. S. initiative and leadership this affair. I asked why his Govt. had not approached us regarding it. He answered Germany not long ago a conquered country owing present prosperity fundamentally to U. S. policy, and awaiting U. S. invitation to consider such joint concerns. (Here I personally think is important point. This psychological timidity about assuming initiative in affairs vitally affecting European

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partners is ingrained in German political figures, even in so self-confident and ebullient an individual as Erhard.)

It is obvious Erhard would respond favorably to an offer to visit Washington. As you know, his Ministry not that of Finance, has jurisdiction over foreign exchange determinations. Once the new Cabinet has been formed and has disposed of accumulated business, he would certainly be free to leave here. This would probably be about November fifteenth.

In my view, Erhard should be invited to Washington for intimate discussions on various aspects of what, unless curative measures are taken, is likely to become a serious economic and financial crisis in Europe. Also, during his visit, interesting possibilities could be explored as to how FedRep might join in financing projects in underdeveloped countries, to which he is sympathetically inclined.

If visit were made, it should be as unofficial as possible. He should expose his views certainly to State, Treasury and Bill Martin, in whom he has great confidence. He would not be burdensome guest. Given an interpreter, a box of cigars and a large chair, he would be at ease.

If such invitation is extended and accepted, suggest Tasca and myself come to Washington at same time for consultation. END QUOTE

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Sunday, October 6, 1957

Cloudy day. I took a walk with the children. E is in bed with flu. Alden McIntyre from Boston, Hanson and Helen Baldwin, and the Handlers came to lunch. Everyone is excited about the Russian satellite. It is encircling the world every 96 minutes. This is a great scientific achievement. What its military significance may be remains to be seen.

We stayed talking until four o'clock, then I took another walk.

Monday, October 7, 1957

The Soviet satellite continues to whiz around the earth at 18,000 miles an hour, over five hundred miles up, emitting squeaks and coded messages from the apparati within it. Congressional investigations are being demanded to inquire why the U. S. did not discover, before the Russians, the secrets to animate such a machine.

Worked today on my speech for tomorrow, and did business at the office. We left tonight by the special train at 2101 hours for Berchtesgaden. The passengers were Lady Steel, Mrs. Ernest Wiener (USIS), Mrs. Charles Brown (SY), Mrs. Howard Hilton (ECON), Mrs. Ramsey (Asst. Air Att.), Mrs. Dell (Arma), Mrs. Tauscher (MAAG), Mrs. Nelson (ECON), Mrs. Nichol (Chicago Daily News), Miss Johnson (my office) and her mother.

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Tuesday, October 8, 1957

The Diesel pulled us up the hills this morning, in brilliant sunlight, to Berchtesgaden. We went from the Berchtesgadener Hof to the Hotel General Walker for the opening session of the Conference of American Women's Activities in Europe (CAWAE). There were almost five hundred ladies present, including Stella Reading, Mrs. Parsons (Dot Davison's sister), Mrs. Hodes, Mrs. Everest, Laura Houghton, and Isabelle Norstad from Paris, and many another notable. Mrs. Bagbey, of Roanoke, Virginia, whose naval husband is stationed at Bremerhaven, presided well as Chairman. A band played the National Anthem and speeches were made. My contribution was the following:

BEGIN QUOTE

AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY IN GERMANY

The record of American foreign policy toward Germany in the post-war period is not one to be treated in isolation from the policies in the same regard adopted by the United Kingdom and France. The unanimity between our three nations on all essential points is remarkable. Originally, there were four allies. But Soviet Russia, on whom devolved the same responsibilities as upon ourselves, soon quitted our association, and instead of being an ally became an antagonist.

At the conclusion of the war, the future of Germany, which had unconditionally surrendered, was indeed obscure. The triumphant

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conquerors were united in one particular at least - German militarism, an evil in itself, should not be allowed to revive. To this end, heavy industry designed for or capable of producing military goods was to be prohibited, and where it still possessed a potential, was to be dismandled. Thousands of freight cars, chiefly directed toward the Soviet empire, were to transport large portions of whatever machinery had survived the intense raids of the British and American air forces.

Some advocated, and they were vociferous, a pastoralization of the country. Simple farmers engaged in the task of raising grain, vegetables, meat, and fruits were to replace the active and industrialized people that had confronted the whole world in arms, in pursuit of their ambitious though pernicious and misdirected aims.

This conception of punishment and segregation brought many ills in its train.

The condition of the Germans in 1945 threatened the welfare of the West. Barter had replaced a currency so depreciated as to be almost meaningless. Insufficiently fed, the population was in course of being reduced to penury, and physical uselessness. Cigarettes, whisky, meat, coffee, and flour were almost legal tender; in the grip of necessity, normal moral standards succumbed to temptations inspired by the will to live, and a whole nation was in

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the grip of a curruption, tending to contaminate the victor almost as much as the vanquished.

A four-power rule was constituted.

It was not long before a fundamental divergence began to manifest itself between the objectives of the United States, Britain and France, on the one hand, and the Soviets on the other. The real purposes of the latter soon became apparent.

It would be idle to retail the story of the great rift in policy between the Western allies and the Soviet Government on the score of foreign policy affecting Germany. For a time, a satrapy ruled and dictated to a populace stunned by repeated hammer blows, bereft of almost all that constitutes even a residuum of national pride. Military governors delivered their ukases, and they were unquestionably obeyed.

As time went on, the measures adopted by the four occupying powers imposed a growing strain upon the resources of the three Western nations. A starving and subservient people heeded their commands and existed upon the bounties accorded by their masters. The magnitude of controlling the present, and even more the future fate of almost seventy million people was appalling in prospect, frustrating in actuality.

The lesson that no one really wins a modern war was once

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again forced upon the attention of statesmen. The amelioration of the pitiful lot of tens of millions of dependents imposed upon the Western allies a challenge to conscience and a query to policy. As regards the Soviet Union, no such considerations affected its action. We of the West feared chaos, and hoped for a reorientation of German nationalism and vitality into peaceful and democratic channels. The Soviets no doubt wished to guarantee against a revival of German militarism, but more immediately, desired to atrract the former Reich permanently into their orbit. On our side, we had no wish for political or territorial aggrandizement; on the other, the reduction of Germany to satellite status was a deliberate plan.

Under such circumstances, it is little wonder that a breach between the four powers occurred. The Western allies were forced to adopt measures, consonant with their duties, incompatible with the unilateral practices of the Soviet authorities in the sphere of their operations.

The wartime alliance between the Soviet Union and the West faded into an uneasy and hostile official arrangement, characterized by mutual suspicion and, as regards the Soviets, by an evident desire to subvert all of Germany to Communist domination and control.

With the passage of time, any reconciliation between West and East concerning the future of Germany became more and more

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illusory. The United States, United Kingdom and France consolidated their zones of occupation, encouraged the formulation of a basic law, or constitution, for those areas within their competence, sponsored and welcomed the composition of a parliament, and began to deal (with certain defined reservations) with the executives chosen under law by a freely elected legislature.

The economic and financial recovery of the Federal Republic is little short of miraculous. I remember in 1944 being present in more than one German city so badly destroyed that I believed they would never again be habitable. Upon revisiting them, I found them thriving and more prosperous than before.

With this resurrection of material things, and its concomitant, a rebirth of legitimate nationalism, it was but proper that the Western allies, fearful of aggressive Soviet dispositions, should wish to enlist all the resources of the new-born Federal Republic in partnership with themselves. The incorporation of the Federal Republic into Western institutions was a desideratum, welcomed with enthusiasm by the Germans, though, in part, frustrated by their European partners.

Today, the problem of Germany, East and West, remains the key to the future of Europe. Neutralized, or unattached, its influence can sway the balance of delicately poised scales. Moreover, when one

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speaks of Germany, one must reckon with two entities, one free, the other servile. The sway of the Soviet Union over the so-called Democratic Republic of East Germany is absolute, and is maintained by the stationing of some 22 Soviet divisions in that unhappy province. Over the dividing line, engaged in routine occupations, exists a population of more than fifty million free persons; their neighbors, relatives and friends, 18 million strong, live in a comparative desert of poverty and distress, receiving orders from the lowest form of human life, betrayers of their own blood, whose personal safety is guaranteed by alien bayonets.

Between these opposed zones lies the City of Berlin. It has had special and grievous tribulations, and has emerged triumphant over attempts against its very existence. The blockade, broken by the American, British and French airlift, is now historical, but the division between East and West Sectors continues, a constant reminder of how man prospers and expresses himself under free institutions, and how he feints and fails under arbitrary oppression.

The objectives of United States foreign policy, is to bind this country to ourselves by attachments too strong ever again to be broken; to associate it with ourselves in the defense, if need be, of Western civilization; to assist it, without resort to war, in reunification with its unnaturally severed part; to use its strength in conjunction with

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our own; to achieve a condition of stability where peace will be a reality and not a ' oatened dream. END QUOTE

We attended ch at the Hof. Mrs. Allport, of the Embassy, who had spoken this morning, is one of the most active and effective persons in this remarkable organization of women, which will for the next two days dissolve into seminars enlivened by short orations. I wish E could have been here and enjoyed it all, but she remains at home with a high fever and, I suspect, influenza.

I met our Consul from Salzburg at lunch, and he generously offered to take me over there this afternoon. It is only a thirty-minute trip by car, and I wandered through the streets of that beautiful, quaint and interesting city for a couple of hours.

Tonight, I dined alone with Stella Reading. She is now sixty-three, but the years have not daunted her, or subdued her indomitable spirit, as active and constructive as when I first knew her in 1940.

Wednesday, October 9, 1957

I sat on the terrace in shirt-sleeves reading a German grammar, while the ladies went about their work. After the dampness of Bonn, this atmosphere is as delectable as heaven. Later, I drove up through the mountains to see the famous "Eagle's Nest". The winding road, with its 24 per cent gradients, is one of the finest of all engineering

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feats, terminating on a platform almost 2000 metres high, from which one looks across to the mountains of Austria, and downward onto the outstretched river valleys of Germany. Salzburg seems only a few miles away, and Berchtesgaden within gunshot.

The German chauffeur and I proceeded through a beautiful tunnel to the elevator that raises one through 400 feet of rock to the aerie. There, except for the glorious view, there is little to wonder at.

The stone structure is solid as a fortress, its rooms now used for selling souvenirs, food and drink, and its terrace the haunt of tourists who flock here by the thousands, by bus or afoot. Hitler had only visited the place a few times, after its presentation to him by Bormann in 1938. Bormann, it seems, had superintended the work and given it to his Führer as a little surprise!

Hitler himself had a passion for his own country house on a much lower mountain top, near where the General Walker Hotel now stands, close to the villas of Goering and Bormann. They all had their bomb shelters; the houses were more or less damaged during the war. None is extant, Hitler's having been completely demolished in 1952, I assume to prevent any possibility of its becoming a Nazi shrine, although, oddly enough, I cannot find here any real information on the subject.

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I lunched late at Skytop Lodge, a hotel run by the American Army. It has an attractive golf course.

For the first time, this afternoon I did a thorough coverage of the town of Berchtesgaden, but saved the Wittelsbach Castle for later scrutiny. It is a pleasant but not interesting little city.

Every room in the hotel has a radio. A twist of the button produces the programs of the American Forces Network, and this evening I listened to the account of the New York Yankees - Milwaukee Braves World Series baseball game - the sixth, the Braves leading 3-2.

Asiatic flu is sweeping Germany, and many of the schools are closed, no doubt to the gratification of most of the pupils.

The Yankee-Braves game was enthralling, finally won by New York 3-2, so the next meeting will be decisive.

Left tonight by train for Stuttgart.

Thursday, October 10, 1957

I spent the morning with Alan Moreland, meeting all the officers and employees at the Consulate General. They struck me as being a [redacted] superior lot. Then, we went to the Amerika Haus, a not well-situated building, rented for almost $18,000 a year. It has about 20,000 volumes.

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We visited the project, where our Consular community is quartered. Their isolation from the life of the city where they will live for some years is marked. I think it would be better to liquidate these habitations and, as most of our officers would prefer, allow our representatives to find lodgings wherever they wish.

We called on the Minister-President, Dr. Mueller (CDU), in what can only be described as his palace. It was constructed about 1910 by a rich widow, on the heights above Stuttgart, and upon her death was taken over by the city. It is architecturally a small Sans Souci, in a park overlooking the city. Mueller is a genial, bald-headed, professorial looking type of about fifty, cordial and intelligent. We lunched with him and his Cabinet on trout and pheasant, with copious libations of the local white and red wines and champagne, which are rarely exported. He made a speech to American-German friendship, to which I responded in kind.

At four o'clock we arrived at Patch Barracks or Field of the Seventh Army commanded by General Bruce Clarke. I was received with cannonading and an honor guard. Then we spent an instructive hour being briefed by the General on his mission and activities.

The Morelands had a major reception, attended by almost

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all the local celebrities and many Americans. At eight o'clock, I went to dine with the Clarkes in their large house which has sheltered a succession of American commanders. General Oakes and the Morelands were there. We listened to the surprisingly clear radio account from New York of the last World Series game in which the Braves downed the Yanks 5-0. The Clarkes, Oakes, and the Morelands are all [redacted] hospitable and pleasant. I got back to the train about 11, and sat up until midnight with members of our party.

Friday, October 11, 1957

We arrived at Mehlem about nine o'clock.

I had a talk with Spencer Phenix about his plans and also about the progress made in releasing the prisoners at Landsberg. He hopes to have the whole affair cleaned up within a year.

The Egyptian Ambassador, Razek, came to see me this morning and reiterated a strong feeling of affection for the United States. However, his local propaganda people pour vitriol on us.

We had a meeting of the Country Team this afternoon to consider again inviting Minister Strauss to the United States, the problem of Nike sites, and the German annual review for NATO.

Mr. and Mrs. Douglass Cater, the former traveling abroad on an Eisenhower Fellowship to visit England, Germany, India and

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Russia, called on me. His wife and he seem [redacted] intelligent and he possesses enough knowledge of the Russian language to get around that country.

The Ambassador from El Salvador, Barrientos, came to see me. He is an attractive fellow, and was a student in Switzerland in his early days. His English is perfect, and he is fortunate in speaking French and German. His Government has reversed what is the practice of some of the other missions here, in that his residence is near Bonn and his office in Cologne. He finds this [redacted] inconvenient.

Dr. Krekeler, the German Ambassador to Washington, came to see me at the house tonight. He is going back to his post next week. He says his Government is [redacted] concerned about what action it should take in the event the GDR should be recognized by Yugoslavia. Our Embassy sources have consistently reported such a move is imminent. The FedRep is asking the U. S. Government to intervene with the Yugos and try to stave off any decision of this kind. We have done what we can, but I feel our intervention will be futile. Krekeler tells me, as Hallstein previously had, that his Government has not yet been able to agree upon a course of action to be followed if this takes place.

I talked to him about the possibility of a consortium embracing ourselves, the FedRep and perhaps other Western countries, to be formed in connection with some of the rich merchants and governments in the

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Middle East, to handle economic developments in that area.

He seemed in fine health as he started off on a 180-mile drive to his home in Hannover.

Saturday, October 12, 1957

We had a reception this afternoon for the touring members of the American Legion and their German hosts. They reported favorably on their trip to Germany, saying they had been better received here than in any other European country. This year's Commander, "Dan" Daniel, is from Danville, Virginia, and I enjoyed talking to him about mutual friends. Almost every state seemed to be represented, with the largest number coming from Illinois.

Sunday, October 13, 1957

James and Sally Reston, Helen and Mike Handler, came to dinner with us. Earlier in the day, I had been busied with the sudden twelve-hour notice given by the DDR for the turn-in of all East Zone currency within twelve hours. In return, holders would be given a small amount of new currency, and presumably the rest woul d be confiscated. This action will, of course, affect West Zone speculators in East marks, but the brunt of the loss will be borne by the Easteners, many of whom have been hoarding the currency as "sock money".

As has been apparent for some time, it also seems highly probable that during the interview scheduled for tomorrow at the Foreign

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Office between Hallstein and the newly returned Yugoslav Ambassador, the latter will announce his government's decision to recognize the DDR.

The Restons had just reached Bonn from Moscow, where earlier this week Scotty had a three and a half hour interview with Khrushchev. His account of it was fascinating. He thinks the Soviets desire to enter into bilateral discussions with the U. S. A. about disarmament. But he thinks Foster Dulles really believes the days of the present regime in Russia are numbered and has no wish for a negotiation with the Soviets under their present leadership. Moreover, he considers President Eisenhower is too wedded to his theories of acting in complete partnership with our allies for him to permit a bilateral exploration.

We all agreed there would be a possibility of achieving something along this line if talks were conducted through normal diplomatic channels, and our associates kept informed of their tenor. The problem would be one of great delicacy, and would presuppose the inactivity for the time being at least - assuming that the present debate in the General Assembly proves unfruitful - of the U. N. Commissions on disarmament. This could cause many howls of anguish.

We left about 2:30 a. m. on the train for Hamburg. Miss Jean McBean (Econ), Miss Margaret Auger (Econ), Miss Mary van Horn (Adm), Mr. Edzard Hermberg (Econ) and Mr. Albert Nemecek, Jr.,

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travelled with us.

Monday, October 14, 1957

We reached Hamburg at 9:30 a.m. and were met by Consul General and Mrs. Edward S. Maney. I went to the office and drifted around the different divisions until I met all the personnel. I was favorably impressed by them.

Maney and I called on the Buergermeister (and President of the Senat), Dr. Kurt Sieveking, at the Rathaus. This representative of the CDU may lose his office after the local elections on November 10. Meanwhile, he performs his duties with grace and, I am told, with efficiency. I found him delightful and thoroughly versed in the history and traditions of this thousand year old city. Hamburg is enormously prosperous and is the second largest center in Germany, Berlin being the first.

Sieveking had a lunch for us, and we exchanged flowers of compliments. The Rathaus, built in 1897, is large, its huge rooms gilded, carved, and caparisoned. Yet the effects are pleasing, and it has a gaudy grandeur.

After lunch I called on the USIS employees, American and local. There are about seven Americans and ninety-five Germans engaged in this work. I finished up with a thorough tour of the Amerika Haus, before going for the first time to our hotel, the Vier Jahreszeiten (The

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Four Seasons), claimed by loyal Hamburgers to be the best hotel in Europe.

E came in, enthusiastic about her day which, with the exception of lunch at the Rathaus, had been passed in visiting refugee hostels and camps.

The Maneys picked us up, and we drove for half an hour to Eric Warburg's, where we dined with about a dozen prominent Hamburgers. Afterwards, I was kept on the grill until midnight answering questions about American foreign policy. Oddly enough, the Germans were unanimously of the opinion that only the Americans were in a position to deal seriously with the Russians and should do so bilaterally, subject to final reference to the allies.

Tuesday, October 15, 1957

This morning we went to the Hamburg Historical Museum. The Mayor's Chief of Protocol and the Directoress took us around. I don't think I ever enjoyed myself more. Although Hamburg was almost entirely destroyed by fire in 1842 and again by bombing and fires in 1943 and 1944, the wealth of the displays in this museum give one a good idea of its long and, at times, spectacular history.

On our way to the station from the museum we had time to pillage a dog shop of necessities for the puppies, now reduced to three howlers

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by a succession of gifts.

We left at 12:08 for the seven-hour run to Mehlem.

Wednesday, October 16, 1957

Frank Higgins, Assistant Secretary of the Army for Logistics, an old friend from the time he worked for Bill Foster in Paris, called on me this morning. He is concerned over the curtailment of PX and commissary privileges for American newspaper correspondents in Berlin. They have made strong representations to him to restore these privileges to them. I told him this is a matter for the Army to decide, the Embassy having no share in the management of the Berlin facilities.

Congressman Byron Rogers (D-Colorado) visited me. He seems sensible and amiable.

I went to the Foreign Office and, as a result of the conversation there, sent the following telegram:

BEGIN QUOTE

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FonMin asked Steel, Puaux of French Embassy and myself to meet him at eleven this morning. He notified us he had sent telegrams to London, Paris, Washington, and NATO outlining FedRep reaction to Yugoslav recognition of GDR and requesting consultation with allies on subject. Although under later questioning FonMin said his

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conversation with us was along exactly same lines covered in telegrams, I shall summarize his more important remarks.

Following customary approach through two or more channels, FonMin asked us each to report back to him urgently attitude our Govts toward intended German policy, even though he would also receive replies through FedRep Ambassadors in our capitals. Therefore, I hope whatever told Krekeler will be immediately relayed here and would meanwhile appreciate copy FonMin's telegram to Washington referred to above.

Present desired schedule FedRep action is consultation at once in London, Paris, Washington, special meeting NAC Thursday, conversations with German parliamentary leaders Friday, and announcement FedRep decision thereafter, but not later than weekend. Reason given for hurry is fear delay might allow other recognitions GDR and possible chain consequences this regard. Also that early decision would connote firmness FedRep policy and diminish build-up domestic misgivings.

FonMin considers Yugoslav action violation unwritten understanding that recognition would not be accorded GDR reached during negotiation FedRep-Yugo treaties. Furthermore, timing announcement was done in way to cause greatest embarrassment, namely day before meeting of new Bundestag and while Govt, so to speak, in state of transition. However, was not a surprise.

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Reason for Yugo recognition inspired by desire Tito draw closer to Soviet Govt and reflects some uneasiness strength his regime and home disaffection. Khrushchev and Tito have reached an understanding on foreign policy not yet entirely clear as to scope.

Foreign Ministry has advised Chancellor, who seems agreed, subject to allied consultations, to break off diplomatic relationships with Yugoslavia, but not at this time to take any action on trade interchanges which presumably will continue. If other nations with diplomatic representation Bonn recognize GDR, FedRep will discontinue diplomatic intercourse with them. Syria would probably be first to move; thereafter, unless deterred by FedRep disapprobation, might be scramble in Near East and Far East and Africa to follow Yugo initiative. In this connection he particularly mentioned Egypt, and expressed fear that contagion might ultimately spread to Europe and affect even neutrals like Switzerland, Sweden and Austria.

Interestingly enough, FonMin said Yugo action would not necessarily prejudice FedRep determination as to whether later to have diplomatic representation in Poland. He differentiated Polish case from others by saying others had implicitly admitted FedRep was representative of all Germany whereas Poles had already recognized GDR and therefore were in different category. (Note: There are differences in FonOff as to advisability eventual diplomatic recognition Poland.)

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My own judgment would be: (1) That U. S. state it does not intend to withdraw its own recognition Yugo; (2) That decision is FedRep affair; we appreciate opportunity given for consultation, sympathize with FedRep dilemma and have no objection its pursuing proposed course. END QUOTE

I lunched in the office, and at 2 o'clock Dr. Leverkuehn called on me at the request of Walter Hallstein. He worked for some years in Wall Street with the Warburgs, speaks English perfectly, and is something of an expert on the Middle East. A member of the Bundestag, he has been asked by the Chancellor to investigate the possibility of German participation in economic projects, especially in that area, and in conjunction with the United States. We have given a lot of thought to what might be done in this connection, but have been unable to elicit any definite views from Washington. I shall now write to Loy Henderson on the subject.

At the staff meeting this afternoon, no controversial topics were presented. Ruffner is somewhat disturbed over the news that when our Navy gives up our Rhine Patrol next month, it will be turned over to the German territorial army organization. He thinks this might violate the understanding it was part of the NATO scheme of operations. We agreed he should take this up with General Hodes.

Bob Schaetzel talked to me about future U. S. dealings with

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Euratom. He has been discussing this with Max Kohnstamm in Luxembourg. He believes Armand will be made head of the Euratom institution, a German offered the presidency of the Coal and Steel Community, and Common Market leadership accorded to the Netherlands.

Altschull of the AP came to see me. He was evidently in possession of a first-class leak about the meeting of the Ambassadors with Brentano this morning.

The Cuban Ambassador, Canal, paid a return call on me.

Finally, Mike Handler arrived and read me the careful notes taken by Reston and himself on the occasion of their recent call upon the Chancellor. Afterwards they decided to publish nothing on the subject in the Times. Their decision was wise, for the interview as reported by Handler was of a truly extraordinary nature.

Adenauer referred to President Eisenhower's bad health, his passion for peace, which might lead him to dangerous conclusions; spoke of his confidence in Dulles but of his fear he would have a recurrence of cancer; expressed lack of confidence in Stassen; said the American diplomatic service was a haven for incompetent political contributors (fortunately for my face, I was specifically exempted from this category); said his Government would not oppose U. S. -Soviet bilateral conversations provided it was satisfied with the U. S. negotiator; added a new note to any I have heretofore heard, of his

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conversations with Khrushchev in Moscow (Khrushchev allegedly said the Chinese were making outrageous demands on the Soviets, their population increasing at the rate of 12 million a year, and the Soviets had great fear of what their policies might be in the future); and added to all this reflections upon the German situation, domestic and foreign.

It must have been quite a performance. In the course of the conversation, the Chancellor also spoke of the rift reported to him as existing between the White House and the State Department on major questions of foreign policy. He said that, on the occasion of one of his visits to Washington, he had felt it necessary to warn Dulles of the secret messages being exchanged by the White House and the Soviet Government. Dulles had told him if such were true he would resign as Secretary of State, and hot-footed it over to the White House where he fixed up the matter.

E and I went to a cocktail party tonight given by Captain Scott for Hanson Baldwin. Hanson had just returned from a tour of German Army, Navy and Air Force installations. He [redacted] was favorably impressed by the spirit and appearance of the German military of all ranks. He had been especially struck by the austerity of life in barracks, and especially by the economy prevailing in officers' messes where they live on an allowance of two and a half marks a day.

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Tuesday, October 17, 1957

I went to the Political Officers' Conference this morning. These men, coming from various parts of Germany, give [redacted] interesting accounts of the situation in their districts. Without exception, they appear to be competent individuals.

Miss Knutzen brought in two groups of newly arrived employees to see me. None of them has been here more than a month. Over half of those I saw today had come directly from the Department and this is their first foreign assignment. This place is somewhat like a roadhouse, with lots of people coming in and going out each week.

The Nicaraguan Minister, Molieri, called on me. He had asked our help in finding housing accommodations for himself and his family, but has at last obtained a good location. Like so many Latin American diplomats, he has spent many years in the United States.

Morrie Helitzer, of McGraw-Hill, called on me this afternoon. He seems [redacted] knowledgeable about the missile program and interested in Western strategy. Personally, he favors an amendment of the McMahon Act and the direct furnishing of nuclear weapons to allied armies. He confirmed what I had been told in Hamburg, namely, the skepticism presently existing in Germany over the long-range future of the airplane versus the missile.

I went to the Foreign Office this afternoon. What transpired there

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in the suggestion made to him by the Secretary when the latter was in Bonn, looking to possible FedRep participation in economic development schemes in the Middle East and elsewhere. He wishes Dr. Leverkuehn to pursue this matter further with the American authorities, with a view perhaps to sending him to Washington for discussions. In that event, he would be given a commission so that he would be acting, not in his capacity as a legislator, but as a special representative of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

He has some theories about what might be done, even under present conditions, in Syria. This particular scheme would seem to envisage the United States putting up money and the FedRep furnishing personnel. However, the most interesting plan which has been flirted with here for a long time is to make a serious inquiry into the possibility of doing something in the Arab states in conjunction with several of the prosperous governments there, such as Kuwait, etc.

Frankly, I feel embarrassed about what to say to the Germans on this subject, since Dr. Westrick, who was lately in Washington, may have talked about German financial assistance to underdeveloped areas (see Reinstein letter of October 9, 1957 to me). In addition, Dr. Erhard, the Minister of Economics, has displayed a slight interest in this problem but not, at least as yet, of a constructive nature. We feel here that it should be dealt with not through him but through the

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Foreign Office. In addition, I have the impression that there have been a great many random talks between Americans and Germans which have not resulted in any serious attempt so far to explore whatever possibilities may exist.

The primary German interest at the moment appears to be to talk to high officials in our Government regarding what might be done in the Middle East. Perhaps you might roll the matter over in your mind and reach a conclusion, on the basis of which you could advise us how to handle Dr. Leverkuehn. Should we encourage him to go to Washington? If so, whom should he see there, and so forth? I have asked quite frankly whether there was not a person or persons at the German Embassy in Washington who might be able to expose to our authorities the FedRep views in this connection. The answer was a categorical "no". The truth is, I surmise, that the FedRep has no definite plans or schemes, but the Chancellor is anxious to make an exploration, especially because of the Secretary's conversation with him during the summer, and, unless we invite a conversation, these enthusiastic fellows will go running off in all directions and begin to spin projects out of several of their Governmental departments.

I realize the above is quite unclear, but perhaps a certain lack of clarity as to what might be discussed exists on both sides of the Atlantic!

END QUOTE

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Tonight we had for dinner Mrs. Rentschler and Mrs. McBaine, Count and Countess Paul Munster, Mr. and Mrs. Altschull (AP), Mr. and Mrs. Henry Pleasants, Elim O'Shaughnessy, Capt. and Mrs. Scott (Naval Attache), and David Thomson.

I want some day to visit Paul Munster's place in Hannover which his son is now managing. During the war when he was working with OSS, he asked me to allow him to be dropped in there by parachute which, probably fortunately for him, I refused to do.

In a conversation with Henry Pleasants tonight, he told me one of Winston Churchill's comments that I had never heard before. Churchill was castigating the Labor Government in England and said, "It takes a sort of genius for the government of an island built on coal and surrounded by fish to produce a shortage of each."

Saturday, October 19, 1957

Office. Jane McBaine and Rita Rentschler came to lunch.

We went to a dinner given by the Shotts for Elim. The Steels, the Ecuadoran Ambassador, Baroness Oppenheim, Miss Steel and others were there.

Sunday, October 20, 1957

Yesterday was a day of rain, but today was unusually beautiful. E and I walked in the woods for a long time this morning and I repeated the trip with Sasha and one of the puppies this afternoor. E left

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tonight for Paris, where she will join Virginia.

Monday, October 21, 1957

This morning I went to call on the Iranian Ambassador, Esfandiary, in Cologne. He has been away for a longtime. He particularly dislikes Tito and the Yugoslav Government, and thinks the United States never should have given them any aid or other assistance.

I then paid a return call, also in Cologne, on the agreeable Colombian Ambassador, Gomez-Pinzon.

I had a lunch today for Cecil B. deMille, his daughter and son-in-law (Mr. and Mrs. Joseph Harper), Ambassador and Mrs. Felix von Eckardt, Mrs. Allport and the Wieners. Cecil de Mille, aged 76, was [redacted] soft-spoken, courteous and sensible. He is of Netherlands extraction and says his first ancestors in New York lived near the Battery. According to him, the name Wall Street originated because a stone wall had been erected there to guard the tip of the island against Indian marauders. Canal Street, he says, probably represented part of the moat encircling this barrier.

Von Eckardt told me the Government had not yet definitely resolved the problem of what to do with Dr. Schaeffer, the present Finance Minister. Shortly after returning to the office, it was announced he was to become Vice-Chancellor. I am curious to know whether my friend Etzel will take Schaeffer's former place in the Cabinet.

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Tuesday, October 22, 1957

After Mr. de Mille left yesterday, I heard a good deal about the activities of his press agent which, it is possible, the old gentleman is unaware of. His press agent waged a spirited campaign here in the Embassy to have him obtain a German decoration while at the same time he has solicited a Legion of Honor from France and some sort of medal from the Pope. Fortunately, Embassies do not take part in such maneuvers, although in this case we were asked to make representations to the German Government, which I refused to do. De Mille himself never mentioned the subject.

Bill Trimble and I went this morning to see the Chancellor re-elected by the Bundestag. There was no oratory and, after the votes had been counted, Adenauer contented himself with saying, "I accept, thank you." The composition of a Cabinet is not yet definitely settled, and the speech to be made by Adenauer on the policy of a new administration may be postponed until next week.

Walter Roberts, Deputy Assistant Director for Europe of USIA, came to see me with Nordness.

had a long talk with Gaston Coblentz, in the course of which he asked me what the United StatesGovernment would do if the Soviet Government turned over the matter of access to Berlin to the East German authorities. I am afraid neither of us could find a satisfactory

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answer to this problem. It is one which has preoccupied me ever since I arrived here. Various courses of action could be taken, but every one presents difficulties. Fortunately, the Air Force has on hand in Europe enough transport planes to supply Berlin in the event there were for a time complete stoppage of shipments to and from Berlin. There is also a large stockpile.

My old friend Phil Horton, Managing Editor of The Reporter, called on me. He says Max Ascoli has established the finances of the magazine on a better basis than heretofore by throwing it together financially with some income producing properties. We reminisced about OSS days.

I went to see Walter Hallstein this evening. He had a few minor matters to discuss with me, but was chiefly interested in retailing the train of circumstances leading up to the breaking off of diplomatic relations with Yugoslavia. He himself had been a strong advocate of this course of action. However, before he [redacted] discussed it personally with the Chancellor and before von Brentano [redacted] called in the three Ambassadors for consultation, Adenauer had already made up his mind on the policy to be followed and never wavered, even in the face of many objections and considerable newspaper and public clamor.

I talked to Walter about the worsening situation in Berlin. He does not think the Soviet Government will turn over complete control

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The question as to who might succeed him, if he should relinquish his office, remains unanswered. It has frequently been posed. On one occasion, he is said to have responded: "Look at Churchill. He had designated Eden as his heir apparent; I shall not make a similar mistake."

It is to be anticipated and hoped that the United States will, for a considerable span of time, be dealing with Adenauer, who will control a majority in the West German parliament. If the "Old Fox" remains on the scene, we can make assumptions that might well be unwarranted in case of his removal from it.

The recent Adenauer campaign was characterized by a frank and repeated avowal of his loyalty to American foreign policy. The assertions of independence of the United States, of suspicion of its motives and intentions, so clearly manifested in certain other European countries, evoked no imitation in the Federal Republic. The Chancellor was constant in his theme: namely, that there are two great power complexes in the world, the USSR and the USA. Germany, a second, or even third rate power, must make its choice between the two, and its selection must be alliance, friendship and fidelity to the USA and an unswerving adherence to the NATO alliance. In private, he expressed the opinion that the United States should exercise greater leadership in NATO, and cease to be so tender about the national

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susceptibilities of other members.

In short, while Adenauer continues in authority, and directs his almost authoritarian prerogatives to the ends in which he sincerely believes, it is probable that occasions will seldom arise likely to precipitate a marked division of interest or objective between our two countries. Even if there should occur clashes of temperament or opinion, they should be capable of sub rose settlement.

The position occupied by the FedRep in Europe, geographically, economically and financially, together with its as yet unrealized military potential, would be disturbing if one entertained doubts as to Adenauer's future attitudes toward foreign policy. These will be determined, I believe, by his estimate of the wisdom with which he thinks American foreign policy is being conducted. He must be fully sensible of the peculiar and favorable posture of his own country, and how a tempting oscillation between East and West might contribute to its superficial benefit.

No such hesitation, however, as far as one can presently speculate, has been cherished by him (though it may have entered into his calculations). Moreover, despite its startling achievements in other fields, the FedRep has not yet regained its prestige in political affairs. Its governors are ambitious to serve as mediators, or as second best to influence the play of events in the Middle East, as

well as in Africa. Freed of the erstwhile taint of colonialism, no longer possessors of territories, their brutal management of dependent peoples almost forgotten, they toy with the pleasing idea that they are less suspect in the Arab and African countries than are other nations still exercising suzerainty in those murky localities.

Torn by a feeling of guilt toward the Jews, to whom they are in course of making periodic financial atonement, they have not yet decided whether to accord diplomatic recognition to Israel, or to rationalize their refusal to do so by asserting the greater usefulness of their role as impartial and uncommitted observers of regrettable national rivalries.

In relation to the Soviet satellites in Eastern Europe, their future course of action is also not resolved. Intrigued by the possibilities inherent in the Polish situation and, in lesser degree, elsewhere, much study has been pursued by them as to how best they might maneuver to their own and allied advantage by an increase in their trade, and more formal relationships in that area. The recent recognition by Yugoslavia of the so-called East German Republic and the swift Federal Republic riposte to this action has postponed whatever plans were being evolved by Adenauer and his counselors in this connection. Nevertheless, it may be expected that a resumption of attention to such relationships will again be brought under advisement. The

historical trend of preoccupation with Turkey and lands farther East has begun to reassert itself. Delegations of responsible Germans have begun to investigate commercial opportunities, especially in Turkey and Iran, and their Government can be expected to support, with ample credits, undertakings of a nature which might promise ultimate advantages to its citizens.

Everywhere, the FedRep is expanding its thrust outward, taking moderate but adventurous risks. Its preferred partner in these fields would be the United States. I believe we should have intimate conversations at an early date with German administrators to ascertain whether a combination in some places of our outlays might not be of mutual benefit, and likely to advance our political objectives. In the domain of economic aid, consultation, and possibly joint action, with the Germans might multiply the effectiveness of our present programs. In conjunction with them and other allies, we might enter into arrangements with rich native governments, such as those of Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, Iraq and Iran, to sponsor and participate in area development schemes, instead of bearing alone the burden of supplying manpower and funds for such purposes, with little assurance our efforts will be rewarded even by so evanescent a tribute as short-lived gratitude.

It would be idle to dwell on the possibilities of fruitful cooperation between the Germans and ourselves if the result would be to

weaken our indispensable ties with older and more proven allies. But such would not be the case, if we could arrive at an understanding with Germany, the most prosperous of our associates, subject to the multilateral endorsement and participation of others. It seems to me unwise to await longer a concerted movement, of which there are no apparent signs, conducive to a broadening of Western influence in the satellite and other worlds, when a commencement to that end might be made in partnership with the only friendly nation now rpt now to afford like ourselves a venture of this scope.

There is much talk of "grand designs" and careless paternity of other resounding phrases. But while Adenauer is still alive and active, should we not search out his designs, if any? To do so would not be difficult, for the Germans are not the least vocal of peoples. They labor under a subdued sense of guilt, and will not be the first to extend an invitation. Their dynamism is extraordinary, but it has been chiefly devoted to an animation of their domestic concerns. I think it can be harnessed to broader uses, consonant with U. S. aims. I shall not in this telegram suggest how this might be done, but call your attention to an imperfectly utilized source of strength and energy which, although at present not being dissipated, is too exclusively devoted to narrow national aspirations. END QUOTE

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Thursday, October 24, 1957

I bought quite a lot of china for ordinary use at the KPM shop. I did not indulge in any of the painted ware, which is over expensive. My plain white pieces, done from 18th century moulds, were remarkably cheap and, I thought, unusually pretty.

I talked off and on with Martin Hillenbrand and also with Brandin about Berlin affairs as they are connected with the Mission activities.

I also inspected a 5 1/2 acre property left to the United States Government for possible utilization as an Embassy residence. The huge house had been destroyed by bombing, but the garden and surroundings are far above the average. Unfortunately, it is at a distance by car of almost half an hour from our old Chancery site. With the building of a new boulevard, it will becomemore accessible, but even so I consider such a separation disadvantageous. I obtained some data from the Administrative Section on properties that might be acquired for such a purpose in the old diplomatic quarter off the Tiergarten. The next time I go to Berlin, I want to inquire into them. Mayor Brandt told me he thought one of the most stimulating things the United States Government could do would be to buy a large lot near the present borderline dividing East and West Berlin and thus publicly reaffirm our faith in the future joining of the severed parts.

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We came back tonight by train, being delayed 1/4 hour by a broken spring. The Sergeant tells me this occurs every few trips because of the bad condition of the roadbed in the Eastern Zone, which is nevertheless two or three times as good as it was a few years ago.

Friday, October 25, 1957

When I arrived at the house this morning, I found Elim O'Shaughnessy and Mary Cutler there. They told me they were to be married before his departure next week for Belgrade. This was excellent news, and we had a bottle of champagne.

I saw Phil Whitcomb at the office. He is concerned over a claim he has against the German Government stemming from journalistic activities he carried on in Paris during the German occupation.

I lunched at the office and afterwards was called upon by the Jordanian Minister, Juraikat. He arrived here a month ago and wishes to get his four children into the American School.

A good deal of my time this evening was taken up with the O'Shaughnessy marriage preparations. Mrs. Cutler telephoned me from Boston and I told her I more than approved of it.

Saturday, October 26, 1957

E and I set out this morning with Mary and Elim for the civil marriage ceremony at the Bad Godesberg Rathaus. Bill Buffum was

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there. It was a [redacted] simple ceremony, and the Mayor confined himself to a short but eloquent speech.

Afterwards I went to the office, where we had a talk about the Soviet attempt to have GDR planes fly through the Berlin air corridor.

Angier Duke and other members of the so-called Zellerbach Committee of the International Refugee Organization came to lunch with us. Irving Brown and Harold Zellerbach left together for Paris after drinks, and the others, Mrs. Eugenie Anderson (former Ambassador to Denmark), Messrs. Sinclair, Cunningham and Schott, remained with us. Angie says 20,000 copies of his mother's book have been sold and, after a run in New York, the play founded on the book is to open next week in London.

At five o'clock this afternoon the religious ceremony for the O'Shaughnessys took place in the community church. It was a [redacted] pleasant ceremony, and afterwards those present came back to our house for champagne and wedding cake.

Senator Green arrived with Mr. Pat M. Holt and Lt. Col. J. S. Kimmitt in the early afternoon. The old gentleman bears his 90 years lightly and sprung out for a walk around the neighborhood. He said when he was a student at Bonn he had wandered over every foot of the mountains we see from our windows.

which the Senator said deprived him of an opportunity to talk freely. Therefore, he was left to his own devices, and when I saw him later at the lunch which the Chancellor gave in his honor, he declared himself entirely satisfied with his reception. We had a good lunch (with splendid wines) attended by von Brentano, Strauss and other Cabinet members. Afterwards, I dropped the Senator, who was in a chatty mood, at the house.

This afternoon I asked Ambassadors Steel and Couve de Murville to meet me and discuss the air situation in Berlin. Kit had not received any word from his people there, but Couve was in possession of a preliminary report. We agreed to make a careful investigation of the subject and meet on another occasion.

I talked to Harry Schwartz and Rebecca Wellington about another Berlin matter this afternoon, namely, how to reply to the Russian note protesting to the three allied authorities the use of German mail trains for the transportation of propaganda pamphlets, balloons, and miscellaneous material of a nature hostile to the Soviet Government and the GDR.

There is great difference of opinion here about the meaning of the news announced today concerning the removal of Marshal Zhukov from his present official functions. Some believe he will be given a more glittering position, others that Khrushchev had decided to curtail

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his powers. The Chancellor belongs to the latter school, as does Ollenhauer, who so expressed himself in a meeting this afternoon with Senator Green.

Tonight I had a dinner for Senator Green, von Brentano, Dr. Max Becker (Vice President of the Federal Parliament), Dr. Heinrich Krone (Chairman, CDU/CSU Faction), Bill Trimble, Elim O'Shaughnessy, Pat Holt and Lt. Col. Kimmitt.

Tuesday, October 29, 1957

Here commenced one of the really good days of life. I had stayed up late talking to Theodore Green about cosmic matters, especially of the use of atomic materials for warlike purposes. I was not at my brightest and merriest when I rallied myself about 7 a.m. E, with customary consideration, had elected to get up at the same time. Carlos resented this and sulkily dragged his bulk from room to room.

I departed on the four-hour train trip. Arrived at Saarbruecken at 12:30 and was met by Wendell Blancke, Consul General at Frankfurt, Consul Blumberg, and Dr. Best, Chief of Protocol, the equivalent of our own egregious Wiley Buchanan who seems, according to possibly inaccurate newspaper accounts, to have elevated absence from his post into the sphere of careless talent in that he was away from Luxembourg almost as long as he resided in that country. Perhaps he had patterned his behavior on the precedent of Madame Perle Mesta.

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I had little time to stew over La Mesta, or, for that matter, the perhaps portentous news of the removal of Marshal Zhukov as Minister of Defense in the Soviet Union. Swept into the Rathaus, the Minister President, Egon Reinert, delivered an address of welcome. He is a cripple from polio, and I thought a [redacted] sympathetic character. I got rather carried away and found myself saying some rather extravagant things about the history of the Saar, the steel business, and the like. French champagne in adequate quantity unloosed already unreticent tongues. We entered a hotel private dining room in prime condition. In a medley of English, French and German, I found myself discoursing in rather a pompous way to Saar cabinet officers about the burning topic of franc exchange rates since that currency will prevail in the Saar until 1960.

After copious outpourings of one of the great Saar River wines, Scharzberg (not Scharzhofberger), I made several speeches. Rather pleased with myself, being the oldest person present, and feeling somewhat like Senator Green, I was generous with conversational advice. I rather thought I had made a real contribution to the solution of some of the local political problems; I am sure I encouraged the

(Next page 65 - no pages 63 and 64 - typo error)

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charming female interpreter, by safe counsel, as to how she might settle her rather confused sex dilemma. All in all, within the limits of decorum, uninterrupted hilarity reigned during a long lunch. The President gave me five bottles of Scharzberger 1955, all that was left.

Another four hours' return trip on the train to a massive dinner of twenty-odd people to honor Elim, arranged before it was known to us (and perhaps to him), that he was about to gather Mary Cutler to his bosom. The guests included the Greek Ambassador and Mrs. Capetanides, Austrian Ambassador and Mrs. Rotter, Senator Green, Prof. Dr. Carlo Schmid, State Secretary and Mrs. Hans Globke, Adolf Cillien, Pat Holt, Lt. Col. Kimmitt, the Trimbles, O'Shaughnessys, Linebaughs, and the William Schotts.

After everyone left, we had a long talk with Senator Green, Col. Kimmitt and Pat Holt. "Uncle Theodore" is remarkable! He gathers force as the night goes on and was in absolutely gala spirits. His appetite is like that of a hungry stevedore. At lunch with the Chancellor, he went diligently through sherry, Moselle, Rhine wine, red Bordeaux and champagne and, after lunch, a snifter of Kirsch before going to talk to Minister Strauss about defense matters. He told me it was true that he was the oldest man ever to have served in Congress, but that he hoped to break his own record by re-election three years hence, which would give him a term lasting until he was 99.

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He looks as if he might make it!

This is the first year I have seen him wearing a hearing aid. He places it in one ear and says it makes him [redacted] deaf, and insists on everyone talking into his other ear. His aides are extremely fond of him, as nobody could fail to be, in view of his unfailingly courteous and agreeable manners and personality. They tease him openly about his New England thrift; being one of the richest men in Rhode Island, they told him this evening they were sure he had not married because he was afraid his wife would force him to spend more than the income on his income. Last year, when he took the Colonel shopping in Taiwan, for gifts for his grandnephews and nieces, he was [redacted] attracted by some small balloons. They cost 35 cents apiece. He went away and asked the Colonel to return by himself and see whether he could not buy twelve of them but, since the order was a large one, there should be a [redacted] considerable discount on the price as compared with the price of one balloon. At the same time, it appears he becomes quite reckless in expenditures in the field of oriental art, which is his hobby and his passion.

Wednesday, October 30, 1957

Mr. Altschull of the Associated Press came to see me this morning. He had written a story about the possibility of the Soviets abandoning their Four Power status in Berlin and turning all controls over

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to the German Democratic Republic. Specifically, he said it [redacted] was [redacted] reported to him that the Soviets had already informed the American authorities of this intention. I answered that, to the best of my knowledge, no such proposal directly or indirectly had been made by the Soviets, and I thought he would be mistaken to incorporate any such statement in his writings.

We have had an unsatisfactory response from Washington about inviting Erhard to the United States. The Secretary strongly endorsed our suggestion but the Secretary of the Treasury, Anderson, Frank Southard, and some other officials, feared a disturbance in the exchange markets if he were to come over there and express his views about the deterioration in the European situation and what he thought should be done in the way of corrective measures. Therefore, I have been told to invite him but to hedge the invitation about with so many restrictions on what he can do and say there that I am considering sending a reply advocating a later trip under better conditions. Randy Burgess has apparently advised from Paris against his visit. Randy is a [redacted] nice fellow but super-cautious. I doubt if he fully realizes the desperate financial condition in which the French are involved.

We had a staff meeting this afternoon, and afterwards Geoff Parsons, now Vice President in charge of European sales for the Northrup Aircraft Corporation, came to see me. His firm is interested

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not only in selling planes to the German Air Force, but is considering the licensing of a German industrial establishment to manufacture certain types of planes.

The Ambassador of Iraq called on me. He looks quite ill, although he had just returned from a one-month cure. He feels the excitement over Syria is exaggerated and the real problem in the Middle East remains, as always, the hostility between the Arab States and Israel. He believes the Federal Republic Government would make a great mistake if it accorded diplomatic representation to Israel since this would alienate the Arab Governments who now regard Germany as the least "tainted" of Western nations. He said, somewhat to my surprise - since this is contrary to views publicly expressed in more than one Arab country - that there was no real objection in the Arab world to the payment by the FedRep of large sums to the State of Israel in partial compensation for the atrocities committed by the Nazi regime against Jews.

This Ambassador is an [redacted] unusual and interesting man. It seems a pity that he had to abandon his work as Minister of Development in Iraq largely, I gather, because of his health.

Some of the members of the office presented Elim with a farewell present in the form of a silver box. He was paid the unusual compliment today of being summoned with Mary by von Brentano and also by the

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Chancellor for interviews with them. The Chancellor told Elim of his concern over President Eisenhower's physical condition. This is a favorite theme with him. He evidently does not expect the President to last long.

The appointment of Erhard as Vice Chancellor was announced today and is being interpreted here as an indication he will be groomed as successor to Adenauer.

Thursday, October 31, 1957

Busy day in the office. I saw Mike Handler, who was prevented at the last moment from taking his trip through the Soviet Zone as a result of falling ill with Asian flu in Berlin. Traveling as an ordinary tourist by autobahn, he found the control posts occupied by East Germans who handled their duties with dispatch and courtesy. He had the same experience in his visits to police and other headquarters in East Berlin necessary to obtain clearances for his projected trip.

I called on the Nicaraguan Minister, Molieri. He said his President had told him to seek and follow the advice of the U. S. Ambassador about any problem other than of a purely national nature that might be presented to him. He wanted to consul t me as to whether or not he should attend the Soviet Ambassador's reception on the National Day, November 7. Since his Government has never had any relations with the Soviet Government, I suggested his decision might be guided by

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whatever attitude was to be adopted by those of his colleagues whose countries were in a similar position. The El Salvador and Costa Rican Ambassadors are not going to attend, so I suggested the Nicaraguan might wish to follow the same procedure and notify the Soviet Embassy he would not be in Bonn at that time. I gathered from his remarks that this incident was about the most serious that has yet presented itself to him since his arrival here. He wants to sell some Nicaraguan cotton in Bremen and, except for that transaction, confessed he had [redacted] little to do but attend diplomatic parties.

Friday, November 1, 1957

This is All Saints Day and a German public holiday. Office this morning, in the course of which I dealt with the two matters covered by the following telegrams:

BEGIN QUOTE

CONFIDENTIAL

PERSONAL TO SECRETARY AND DILLON FROM BRUCE (EYES ONLY)

I appreciate very much Deptel 1123 about proposed Erhard visit. He is now in Hannover and will not return until next week, so I have not discussed its contents with him.

Since he has just been appointed Vice-Chancellor and has also become Chairman of the Economic Cabinet Committee, his position in German Government and standing with public is thus further enhanced.

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Therefore, a new element has entered the picture, especially as it affects his making a relatively unobtrusive visit to the United States.

Because of this, and in w contents referenced Deptel which seem to reflect Treasury fears his presence and remarks might result in some disturbance exchange markets, as well as for other reasons, I would favor postponing a visit by him until next year. I fear his attitude might not be conciliatory, or his conversation discreet during and after his voyage, if the chief affair over which he has expressed great concern is not to be the "focus of his trip" and the principal theme of discussions with United States officials. He continues to feel, I believe, that France is already repeat already in the throes of a desperate financial crisis, and that large pecuniary demands will be made on FedRep in this connection, regarding which it must do some advance planning. His apprehensions very closely parallel those reported Dept's Intel Oct 31 2.a.m.

Moreover, some of the views expressed in a memorandum to me by Messrs. Burgess and Hunter following a conversation between them and Erhard in Paris, as well as the remarks by Messrs. Anderson and Southard during their meeting with you on October 21, do not seem to reflect an atmosphere favorable to the sort of talks Erhard had in mind. I understand situation and suggest the following:

I should see Erhard, tell him our Govt invites him if it is

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thoroughly convenient to him to visit Washington, first part of December. However, two somewhat unexpected developments have occurred since I approached US Govt on this subject: (1) His own increased political responsibilities; (2) President Eisenhower's intention to attend the NATO meeting. Preparations for the President's appearance in Paris will engross to a considerable extent, as he will realize, the attention of some of the key officials in Washington in December. No doubt he will himself have even more than the usual preoccupations at that period.

I would then, if necessary, tell Erhard frankly that if he did come the scope of the discussions we would expect to have with him would be limited, etc.

I believe this can be tactfully handled so as to leave him pleased with the invitation, elicit his declination of it, and induce in him an afterglow favorable to an acceptance of another invitation, if we wish to extend it, at a later date. END QUOTE

BEGIN QUOTE

CONFIDENTIAL

LIMIT DISTRIBUTION - FROM BRUCE

REF Deptel 1207 Oct 31

There has been a change here since I telegraphed and wrote on this subject. Its urgency has diminished.

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Leverkuehn has not been appointed by Chancellor and Hallstein not yet ready for meeting with him and myself mentioned my letter to Henderson. In fact, FedRep has formulated no policy and unlikely to do so immediate future because of unexpected pressures exerted by other problems.

Suggest we let matter sleep for time being. Von Scherpenberg coming to Washington in December. Would be useful for Dept officials to have exploratory talks with him there, and I surmise Chancellor may discuss it with Secy in Paris talks. It could be followed up thereafter with more coherence than now seems possible. By that time FedRep Govt should be better organized this regard. END QUOTE

After lunch E, Yolande, David and I went for a walk in the country. It was a lovely afternoon but the whole expedition was spoiled at the close as a result of a vicious French poodle attacking poor Carlos and tearing a substantial piece out of his rear end. The result was he spent the rest of the day at the veterinarian's receiving anti-tetanus and other shots.

Tonight we had a dinner for Venezuelan Ambassador and Mrs. Marturet, Mr. and Mrs. Gian Lorenzo Betteloni (Counselor of Italian Embassy), Mr. and Mrs. Johnson Garrett, Geoff Parsons, Mr. and Mrs. Wm. E. Harrach (Pan Am Airways), Mr. and Mrs. Edward Burks (Baltimore Sun), Madame Jacques Bardac and the

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Trimbles.

In talking with Henry Pleasants today, he quoted to me, in reference to what has often been in German history a lack of diplomatic skill, Per Jacobsen's observation in connection with the strategic position between East and West occupied by this country, "It would be a very serious matter if the Germans should ever add diplomacy to their other qualities."

Saturday, November 2, 1957

Office. I saw Nathaniel Samuels this morning. He was once in SRE and is now an active partner in Kuhn Loeb and Company. He is arranging for the trip of American bankers and steel executives to survey the operations of the Coal and Steel Community in Luxembourg. They will arrive next week. He gave me an [redacted] interesting account of present business and financial conditions at home.

Another beautiful day. We went to dinner tonight at the Trimbles'.

Sunday, November 3, '957

E and I left Duesseldorf this morning by Air France, had a stop-over of two hours at Orly, then went on to Madrid, where we were kindly met by the [redacted] Assistant Air Attache, Ceptain Skladzien.

The Slaters had been away shooting for several days but returned to the Ritz Hotel this evening, and we had our first reunion in almost

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two years. Nelson was in fine health - he will be 65 next July - and Loulou as pretty as ever.

Monday, November 4, 1957

Spent the day in Madrid happily sight-seeing and doing a little Christmas shopping.

Tuesday, November 5, 1957

Ditto.

Wednesday, November 6, 1957

The first day of scheduled shooting. Nelson had rented a place for two days driving, about 15 kilometers beyond beautiful Toledo, belonging to an [redacted] attractive Spaniard named Guerrero. We were eight guns in all, including our gay Portuguese friends, the Vinhas brothers. It blew a gale all day and was bitterly cold. The birds flew like bullets. We had wonderful sport and killed 330 partridges and 85 hares. The Spanish consider this a mediocre bag, but it certainly satisfied me. Guerrero gave us a spectacular lunch.

Thursday, November 6, 1957

Remained in Madrid. Lunched at "The Jockey". This is a really fine restaurant. The sea-food here, especially shell fish, is excellent in most eating establishments. The official rate of exchange is 46 pesetas to the dollar; in the black market it is about 60. Prices

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of goods, particularly clothing, are cheap for Americans even at the official rate.

We lunched one day with Robert Gerard, who is here as one of a French shooting syndicate that included some old French acquaintances. We dined one night at the French Embassy with Colette and Guy de la Tournelle. He has been Ambassador to Spain for three years. The Lodges were there, as well as the Sicres and many others.

Went to see John Lodge at his office, in our ghastly glass chancery, which has all the wrong exposures. Its occupants complain that while one bakes on the left side, one freezes on the right.

Friday, November 7, 1957

We left at 8:30 a.m. for another shoot near Toledo which Nelson had rented. We quitted Madrid in rain and entered Toledo in snow. By the time we had ploughed through miles of boggy roads to our destination, the country was blanketed in white and the temperature freezing. No beaters appeared; it is against the law to shoot in the snow, so we returned to the capital, reaching it at 2 p.m. Went to cocktails with the charming Austrians, Count and Countess Seegfried. He is a grandson of old Emperor Franz Joseph, and she is unusually attractive.

Saturday, November 8, 1957

I received the sad news this morning that Texas Congressman

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James C. Wright's special Air Force plane was to leave tomorrow instead of Monday, as had been originally understood. That cancels out for me the shoot to which the Vinhas brothers had asked us tomorrow. I shall depart, leaving behind unexpended most of the 1000 shells I bought upon arrival, represented as the average consumption for three days at partridges.

I am not too disappointed, however, for I was lucky enough to have one fine sporting day during the worst November week climatically Madrid has known for years.

We lunched at the Golf Club with Slater's friend, the President of it, Conde de Fontana, and his delightful wife, and an agreeable group of people, amongst whom was Merry del Val, the son of the long-time Ambassador to England, and a nephew of the famous Cardinal.

Some days ago Loulou, Nelson and I went out to see Betty and Ricardo Sicre in their new and pleasant house just outside Madrid. Ricardo has an interesting collection of Spanish impressionistic pictures, as well as a set of twelve large eighteenth century oil paintings, illustrating results of miscegenation between whites, Indians, Negroes, mulattoes, etc., which are almost unique. One set was done for the Viceroy of Mexico, the other for the Viceroy of Peru. Neither was delivered to the prospective owner. One is now in a Spanish

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national museum. Since Ricardo cannot possibly use them in his own house, I shall try to undertake their recommendation to the Hispanic Museum in New York. I would love to own them myself, but they are beyond my reach financially.

Another day, Ricardo had taken me to see the Playa Maior and the Playa de la Villa. I was enamored of these portions of old Madrid and fascinated to find the Antonio Perez house seemingly intact. Betty and Ricardo are a stimulating pair; she has just finished a book for Houghton Mifflin on their Spanish Moroccan farming venture. Another OSS character, whom I met at the French Embassy, was the striking young wife of a Spanish grandee whose name I have forgotten. She worked for Larimer Mellon and greatly admires him, as I do.

Saturday evening we went to have drinks with Francesca and John Lodge. They are [redacted] genial and gay.

Dined with the Slaters at a bistro named "Valentin". Superb oysters.

Sunday, November 10, 1957

We parted with great sorrow from the Slaters, our generous hosts. It is blowing hard and [redacted] cold, but Nelson went out to the Vinhas shoot.

Park Armstrong and his wife motored us out to the military

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airport, where, without any formalities, such as showing of passports, we pitched our baggage and ourselves onto the VIP plane. Wright seems keen and has welcoming manners. He had a party of fourteen with him. They got off in Paris, and after an hour and a half at Orly, we went on to Wahn Airport, arriving about 10 p.m.

John Lodge is trying to obtain permission and money to acquire an Embassy residence in Madrid. Real estate values there have soared. The house leased by Bowers, that could have been bought for about $250,000 ten years ago, is now for sale at $3,000,000. It does seem humiliating to have the American Ambassador still in rented quarters, subject to ejection on fairly short notice.

Lodge's Spanish is fluent, but not as good as his French. In the latter language, even his argot is said to be comprehensive. He sings vigorously in both tongues. He is tall, handsome, and one almost senses he is a retired movie star. The same applies to his wife Francesca, one of the numerous talented Braggiotti family. They are an indefatigable and lively couple. He is enthusiastic about Spain and the Spaniards, gives the impression he is thoroughly enjoying his job, and is something of a Connecticut Yankee at Franco's Court.

Monday, November 11, 1957

This is Audrey's birthday. Went to the office this morning

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where I had a long talk with Tasca, who continues to be concerned, and I think rightly, over the French financial situation and the effects it may have elsewhere.

Mike Handler came to see me this afternoon. He has established a good relationship with the Smirnows, and I advised him to try to get them to dine quietly with Helen and himself. He speaks enough Russian to converse with her, and as Smirnow's German is good, it may be the Soviet Ambassador would come to his house without an interpreter.

Dottie and Prescott Bush had dinner with the children and us tonight. He has been making a European tour as a member of the Senate Armed Forces Committee. The chief of the Madrid MAAG told me he had found Bush the pleasantest Congressman to deal with of the many who had visited Spain. This does not surprise me; he is a [redacted] fine fellow and they both are, in my opinion, most representative citizens.

Tuesday, November 12, 1957

Pres Bush called on me in the office this morning, and we continued our conversation of yesterday evening about German and other affairs.

Robson, the local representative of the London Economist, brought Donald Tyerman, his Chief Editorial writer, to see me.

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Tyerman is [redacted] badly crippled physically but sparkling mentally. For years I have read this paper with close attention whenever I could lay hands on it. Its literary quality is of a [redacted] high and consistent order; also, those who run it have displayed great courage on occasions in opposition to the prevailing temper of their compatriots. A notable instance of this is the stand the journal took at the time of the Suez crisis. Many attempts have been made to have such a magazine established in the U.S., but none have succeeded.

Baron Carol von Radowitz, with a letter of introduction from Count Paul Munster, called this afternoon. He told me my old friend, Nino Lo Savio, had died about six months ago. This was news to me, and I am [redacted] sad about it. Nino [redacted] became a naturalized American citizen and, in the old days, I saw a great deal of him. Radowitz, [redacted] the head of the UP bureau in Germany, has been offered Nino's former position as representative of the Moet & Chandon champagne organization.

I saw Erwin Savelson of the New York Daily Mirror, who is on one of his periodic tours to the Middle East. Afterwards, Ernest Leiser of CBS came to call on me, and tonight we dined at the Tascas, where they were entertaining a group of prominent German businessmen: Prof. Dr. and Mrs. Ulrich Haberland (Director General, Fabenfabriken Bayer), Dr. and Mrs. Hans Reuter (Director

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General DEMAG), Mr. and Mrs. Gustaf Hilger (former Counselor of German Embassy in Moscow and Consultant to Foreign Office).

Wednesday, November 13, 1957

The Iranian Ambassador, Esfandiary, paid a return call on me this morning. I derived the useful information from him that there were no longer any lions in Persia on the South shore of the Caspean; his grandfather had shot the last he ever heard of. He says he understands there are still some tigers in the North, but he has never gone after them. He is the father of the beautiful queen, but is not himself a beauty.

We had the usual bi-weekly staff meeting this afternoon.

I saw Morrie Helitzer, local representative of McGraw-Hill Publications, and Paul Finney, Assistant Foreign Editor of Business Week. Like all other correspondents, they are interested in the German reaction to Sputnik. I told them our reports indicated the Germans were not as excited over it as our people seemed to be, judging from newspaper accounts at home. Pres Bush says there is a joke current around New York that President Eisenhower is soon going to launch a large satellite containing a lot of sheep, and this operation is to be known as "The herd that was shot around the world."

Gaston Coblentz came to see me in the late afternoon.

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I had the following interchange of correspondence with the Secretary of State:

BEGIN QUOTE

PERSONAL-CONFIDENTIAL October 31, 1957

Dear David:

I heard a rumor the other day that you might not be planning to stay on in Bonn for what would be a normal tenure. I know how unreliable such rumors are, and I would not pay any attention to it were it not for the fact that both the President and I attach such great importance to having your experience available at this post which now has unusual significance, as indicated by your cable 483.

Faithfully yours,

John Foster Dulles

PERSONAL-CONFIDENTIAL November 13, 1957

EYES ONLY

Dear Foster:

Thanks so much for your kind letter. I had planned to stay on in Bonn for at least two years subject, of course, to the President's and your approval, and nothing has occurred to alter that intention. I fancy the rumor may have sprung from my conversations with Clare Luce, when she was staying with us in Berlin. I never indicated, as

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perhaps I should, my expectation of how long I might be here but, I hope gracefully, told her how happy I should be if she ever replaced me, an appointment which, if it were to materialize, I do not think she would refuse!! Incidentally, I thought her performance at the opening of the Congress Hall brilliant, and a short speech, on the occasion of signing the Golden Book, a strikingly competent impromptu effort. So much for that, and this was the only occasion I can recollect when I have discussed this topic with anyone.

However, there is one possibility you should be aware of. My brother Jim wrote me recently to say he expected to announce his candidacy for the Democratic nomination for the U. S. Senate from Maryland. His proposed plunge into politics was entirely unexpected by me. I assume the primary will be next summer. I do not suppose there would be any embarrassment to the Administration about my remaining here during the primary. But, if he is nominated, he and his friends would naturally expect financial contributions from Evangeline and myself for the general election. Also, if he is nominated that fact alone might subject the Administration to certain political criticism if I remained here. Under such circumstances, I would like to feel that the President and yourself would be absolutely assured of my understanding of the desirability of my resigning my post if it seemed to you advisable for me to do so. Perhaps the question will never come up and, in any event, I imagine requires no

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answer at this time.

Another subject of a professional nature. The idea is probably without merit, but I cannot help thinking some other forum than the U. N. must be sought if again we are seriously to probe Soviet intentions regarding disarmament. Might it be possible to have NATO - in spite of suspicions, national jealousies, etc. - "deputize" the U. S. to represent it ad referendum in negotiations with the Soviets on this score, with an ultimate reference, if anything came of such talks, to the U. N. ? Even if we were only assured that our allies would not resent our engaging in secret exploratory conversations (perhaps in the first instance through our diplomatic channel in Moscow), we might open up possibilities worthy of further pursuit. This would avoid giving the Soviets a public place in which they could voice their propaganda, and might also appeal to their secretive instincts. There are many variations of procedure that might be satisfactory.

With best regards,

Ever yours,

David Bruce END QUOTE

Thursday, November 14, 1957

I left this morning at 7:45 to shoot with Berthold Beitz, the Managing Director of Krupp. Our day afield represented a triumph of good organization. I was met at one of the autobahn exits by a Krupp

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motorcycle courier who led us through a labyrinth of villages and cities until we arrived at the Sevelen Hunting Lodge. This is a four-room cottage in the forest where Beitz' guests can rest or refresh themselves. The only other person with us was my friend, Count Klaus Ahlefeldt. This attractive Dane is the Krupp representative in England.

As we reached the cottage, three trumpeters blew a welcome call. Then we went out in an array of automobiles with beaters, game keepers, a Volkswagen station wagon to carry dead game, to a succession of short drives. We started with mallard ducks and shot half a dozen of them before moving off to pheasants. It was a [redacted] cold day, with no sun but no rain. We went briskly from beat to beat and stopped for an excellent lunch in the open, next to a huge brush fire.

By 4:30, it was too dark to shoot, and we had accumulated 50-odd pheasants, half a dozen ducks, 10 or 12 hares, and 4 or 5 partridges. I have never known shooting ground to be covered so swiftly and efficiently. With the guns, there was also a man carrying a walkie-talkie device in constant communication with the beaters. The moment we were in position, horns were blown and the drives commenced. The country we were in is about 20 miles from the Dutch border, densely populated and industrialized. Beitz leases scattered parcels, and it is extraordinary to find such a profusion of game where

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facilities for poaching are so numerous. When we returned to the lodge, there was a musical ceremony at the place where the dead were extended. The three trumpeters excelled themselves and blew a variety of stirring calls. After what was called a snack, consisting of huge platters of assorted hors d'oeuvres, gin, Moselle and Rhine wines, I took on the 2 1/2 hour trip home.

This was a wonderful day of sport. Beitz is an enthusiastic hunter and a [redacted] good shot. He and Klaus are both [redacted] easy, [redacted] full of fun and jokes.

Friday, November 15, 1957

I went at 9:30 this morning with Representative Emanuel Celler (D-New York) to call on von Brentano. Celler told the Foreign Minister his reasons for being in Germany were three-fold:

(1) To make an evaluation of the recently passed FedRep law against cartels and monopolies. He thought the exceptions in it deprived it of real strength but believed, with good management, it could be made effective. Brentano told him it was Erhard's pet project and little doubt was entertained that Erhard would, if necessary, put artificial teeth in it.

(2) Celler expected to visit German atomic installations for peaceful purposes. He said he was leading a fight at home to have this great new energy producer devoted to the needs of the many rather than be

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exploited by the few.

(3) He was continuing his study of immigration problems, especially as they affected refugees from Eastern Europe. He touched on the national origins feature of the U. S. laws and declared himself in favor of their abolition. Brentano's manner was attentive and friendly, and the conversation passed off well.

Dr. Stern came to see me about (a) his dismissal as Health Officer here and (b) his desire to be associated with the American Hospital (if it should be constructed) in Berlin. On the first point, I told him that the decision from Washington was irrevocable. I did not enter into a discussion of the charges against him. As regards the Berlin hospital project, I said Eleanor Dulles still had it under investigation at home, and I would keep him advised as to what might develop.

[redacted]

The head of the Israeli official mission, which has an anomalous status in FedRep, Mr. Shinnar, called on me. He was [redacted] frank in outlining his Government's attitude toward the question of its full diplomatic recognition by the FedRep. He said his people were not pressing the matter and understood the disadvantages likely to ensue for Germany in the Arab states if such recognition were accorded at this time. Meanwhile, the Germans have paid about half of the 800-odd million dollars in goodsprovided as restitution for crimes against

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Marshall, he was suffering from a nervous breakdown. There seems to be something of a curse on the Field family. His grandfather died quite young in Chicago, allegedly shot in a brothel. His father was one of the most attractive men I ever met; he seemed to have the world by the tail, but fell under the influence of a psychiatrist named Dr. Zihlborg, a former member of Kerensky's cabinet. His domination over Marshall, who died a couple of years ago, was complete. In 1940 when Norman Davis asked me to take over Red Cross operations in Great Britain, I went to see Field, who, because of his long residence there, would have been admirably suited for the position. I asked him to take it in my place, telling him I would be glad to work as his deputy. He made it evident that Dr. Zihlborg would not permit him to leave the country. There was something pathetic about this, and he became more and more of a comparative recluse, devoting himself chiefly to philanthropic work and the management of his ailing newspaper in Chicago.

My old friend, Dick Mazzarini, Vice President of TWA, brought Mr. Love and Mr. von Winterfeld, a couple of his Frankfurt colleagues, to see me this afternoon.

He was followed by Congressman Springer of Illinois. I found him stimulating. He represents an agricultural district now being invaded by industry. He is a free trader by philosophy and we had a long talk regarding the possible effects of German competition in our

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own market. He queried me about Foreign Service allowances. I told him how strongly I felt the necessity of making them sufficient to enable men or women without private means to occupy any foreign post, and explained to him the especial difficulty of those other than Ambassadors who suffered from a complete inadequacy of representational provisions.

Ned Nordness terminated my office conversations for the day. He thinks there will be a further cut in USIA funds for the next fiscal year. He believes the exchange programs and America Hause activities are the most useful of all USIA projects abroad. He fears that some of the America Houses in Germany will have to be closed since the local authorities will probably be unwilling to assume their expenses.

Saturday, November 16, 1957

I went to see Walter Hallstein this morning, and we talked about the agenda for the NATO Conference and what might be done by joint action by the German, American and other Governments in the way of aid to underdeveloped countries. He said Brentano, who is going away Monday to accompany President Heuss on his trip to Italy, would like to fly to Washington next weekend for a conference with the Secretary.

I came back to the office and then went with Mr. and Mrs. Celler

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to call on President Heuss. That engaging man welcomed them with great courtesy and fluent conversation, and sent them away delighted with their talk. They came to lunch with us, as did Julian Singman, a staff member of the House Committee on the Judiciary, and Mr. Fred J. Bock-Bordy, Julius Klein's public relations man in Frankfurt.

Celler is a delightful individual socially. He amused the children by teaching them a lot of new magic tricks. His grandparents were Bavarians, so he understands and speaks German to a certain extent. Mrs. Celler is [redacted] nice. She is of Austrian extraction, and her German is fluent. They stayed late, and afterwards E and I took a long walk.

Sunday, November 17, 1957

At the office this morning in another vain attempt to catch up with telegrams and correspondence. I often think of it as resembling the efforts of a groom to catch a horse on a race track.

Monday, November 18, 1957

Tracy Voorhees, Dr. Robertson, Mr. Weaver and General Larkin came to see me this morning to discuss new weapons development. We have had an unsatisfactory relationship with the German Government on this matter, since they have never gotten themselves straightened out to meet our requirements for industrial security.

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I took this up later in the day with Dr. Erhard, and he has promised to look into it personally.

Col. Schukraft, a brother of Gladys, who is Chief of the National Security Agency for Europe, came up from Frankfurt to call on me. For an hour, I was lost in the alluring and complicated intricacies of his valuable and exacting craft.

John Rich, NBC correspondent in Berlin, told me of the nervousness in Berlin over what the U. S. reaction might be if the Soviets tried to squeeze the allies out of that area.

Dr. Erhard, Dr. Alfred Mueller-Armack, Henry Tasca and Dave Thomson lunched with me. I summarized our conversations in the two telegrams below. (Erhard would be the dream of an English caricaturist, with his beaming, ruddy face, immense gusto, and cigar chain-smoking proclivities.

BEGIN QUOTE

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EYES ONLY FOR SECRETARY AND DILLON

I have seen Erhard and reached an entirely satisfactory conclusion with him that he is not to visit Washington this autumn. He will feel free to suggest a trip early next year. This having been done, I would like to add a postscript.

I am a convinced believer in the theory and the necessity of alliances. But, in reviewing the attitude expressed in certain quarters

toward Erhard's proposed visit, I apprehend a misinterpretation as to what practically can be done with our allies. At present FedRep is the only country in NATO in a position to share with us in major degree the financial burden of supporting a grand Western coalition. I feel we take its ready cooperation too much for granted.

In the financial field, the commanding position of IMF and the use of OEEC in connection with the French crisis are accepted by Erhard. But when immediate problems present themselves, is there anything incompatible between coordinating our foreign policy with that of the n ation in Europe, which happens there to be in a position somewhat equivalent to our own, and of being able to supplement our own financial contributions out of its own resources? Incidentally, I do not repose indefinite confidence in its future policy, since no one can foresee what might transpire if the Chancellor, devoted to Western affiliations, might pass off the scene.

But while he is an actor on the stage, it seems to me that bilateral conversations with him, or his representatives, are not antagonistic to a broader consideration of what might later be discussed between FedRep, the U. S. and others in a multilateral forum.

For the purposes of this telegram, I do not again argue the desirability of prior consultation with FedRep as to how the French or any other European crisis of an economic or financial nature should be

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handled. Nevertheless, I am not impressed by purported assertion that indiscreet remarks by Erhard cost the British Govt a loss of 500 million dollars in foreign exchange values. That is a broad statement with which I do not propose to take issue, although I would observe that perhaps the first cause of flight from sterling was due to the justifiably alarmed attitude of those responsible for the management of British reserves and foreign currency, to say nothing of the gloomy prognostications and warnings on the same subject current in the city of London and disseminated through channels as free flowing as the Economist.

It seems to me to be high time to reappraise the meaning of alliances, and how the U. S. can most effectively operate within their orbits. It is classical in diplomacy that policies of an alliance are concerted between all its members following upon earlier agreement between those whose power is paramount. NATO furnishes an example, unique as far as I know in history, where the most powerful nation on earth gave a veto over its actions in that body to all its associates, including the weakest of all, which I do not single out for invidious comparison, Luxembourg and Iceland, the populations of which are inferior, I believe, to those of almost any of the 48 States of our Union.

It may be high time, after more than a decade of being so sensitive in coddling the sensitibilities of the least powerful of our allies, that we

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should reassert our leadership by engaging in bilateral conversations, not negotiations, with the most powerful of these same allies.

I shall not labor the p' int further, except to reiterate as a result of my own limited observation, that we should not take the Federal Republic of Germany, conscious of its strength, too much for granted, and willing to pick up and pay any check presented to it which carries the endorsement of the U. S. I might add that FedRep, being realistic and prosperous, is not likely to attach any great faith to the endorsement of other nations, though because of the sentimental orientation of Adenauer to France, his desire to aid that country in its manifold tribulations may be expressed in unpredictable fashion. END QUOTE

BEGIN QUOTE

CONFIDENTIAL

I asked Vice Chancellor Erhard's views today on what should be accomplished at December NATO meeting Paris.

As regards effect on German public opinion, he laid greatest stress on reaffirmation of American readiness to support defense of territorial integrity its NATO partners against any type attack - particularly against any Soviet "brush-fire" adventure including attack on Berlin by limited means. Erhard's assessment of German post-Sputnik public mood is growing fear that U. S. Govt has reassessed strategy and would now rpt now shrink if faced by limited Soviet attack on NATO periphery (including

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Berlin) from considering such attack casus belli . To counteract German feelings of resignation and consequent unwillingness make substantial sacrifices to consolidate NATO alliance Erhard felt most effective move would be dramatic restatement of U. S. policy which he urged be made by Pres. Eisenhower personally.

Erhard suggested we keep in mind, in considering any such restatement, that German people have no illusions about their fate if total war should break out, regardless of who is victor. Meaningful for Germans, he felt, would be conviction that NATO can have the forces and determination to prevent outbreak of war. If bolstered in this conviction by U. S. , German public might prove Western European leader in willingness make sacrifices for common defense.

Erhard does not expect attend NATO Conference, since he must remain here as Chancellor's Deputy. END QUOTE

Ken Downs has forsaken for a while his Time. office in Washington and has been visiting in Berlin. He was stationed there for a long time years ago, and is apprehensive, as was Rich, of what moves might be made by the Soviet and GDR Governments to make life more painful there for the allies.

I had a stag dinner at home tonight for the following members of the German press, as well as some of our own officers: Dr. Richard Thilenius (Sueddeutsche Zeitung), Joachim Schwelien (Frankfurter

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Allgemeine Zeitung), Hans Werner v. Finckenstein (Allgemeine Zeitung Mainz), Dietrich Schwarzkopt (Tagesspiegel), Conrad Al[illegible]s (Der Spiegel), Dr. Carl Helfrich (Hessischer Rundfund), Joachim Schulz (DPA), Dr. Hermann Poeragen (Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung).

Tuesday, November 19, 1957

Jack McCloy arrived here this morning and went to see the Chancellor. I had been asked to accompany him, but thought it best he go alone. I joined him at a lunch given by Adenauer. The other guests were: Ludwig Erhard, Franz Etzel, Herbert Blankenhorn, Walter Hallstein, Robert Pferdmenges, Dr. Friedrich Janz, Fritz Berg, Hermann Abs, Prof. Dr. Ulrich Haberland, Hans-Guenther Sohl, Dr. Guenter Henle, Hans Kilb, Max Adenauer, and Bill Trimble.

I had a long talk with Jack this afternoon. He has been touring Europe with a group of American industrialists and bankers looking into the operations of the Coal and Steel Community. He is a remarkable fellow, full of energy and imagination, and with great personality and charm. He spent the night with us, replacing Ken Downs, who left us this morning.

Ken is being transferred from the Washington office of Time-Life to New York. He is spending several months in Europe collecting material to be used by him in conferences and short addresses to

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his publications' advertisers. I can imagine no one better suited for this task.

We had a dinner tonight for the Congressmen who have just arrived here as guests of the Bonn Government. The guests were Senator and Mrs. Wallace F. Bennett, Senator and Mrs. Roman L. Hruska, Senator William Proxmire, Representatives Kathryn E. Granahan, Albert H. Bosch, John R. Pillion, Frank M. Clark and William E. Minshall, Jack McCloy, Mr. and Mrs. Trimble, Gen. and Mrs. Ruffner, and Harry and Mrs. Schwartz.

When I was shooting the other day with Klaus Ahlenfeldt, who is an old friend of the Ramsays, he gave me a couple of nuggets from Uncle Pat and Aunt Cynthia's remarks when the former was British Minister to Denmark. I had heard these previously but did not know the Danes were aware of them. Uncle Pat was such an eccentric figure that the people of the various countries in which he served never took offense at his characterization of local habits and individuals. He is said to have observed to a group of agriculturalists that there were more pigs than Danes in Denmark. His wife swept in to a large and formal dinner party, brushing others aside and muttering, "Pearls before."!!

Wednesday, November 20, 1957

Office in the morning. In various conversations between McCloy

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and Germans yesterday, as well as between myself and some of the guests at the Chancellor's lunch, it became apparent that some of the FedRep people do not have confidence in the continuance of stationing of American troops in Europe. Some of them feel they must make plans for action independent of our support, at least in the event of localized disturbances. Such a course would be dangerous and must be thrashed out before and during the NATO meeting next month, for it would be calculated to increase the anxiety of the Russians, as well as that of other European nations, about a possible rebirth of German militarism.

I went to see Kit Steel at his house at noon today. This is a German public holiday, being "Repentence Day".

We dined at the Marturets. There were just the four of us, and the Ambassador, [redacted] an enthusiastic movie operator, put on a film with Spencer Tracy as the chief actor. The scene was in a western desert and involved the discovery by Tracy, a private detective, of the murderer. In the course of it, the hero disposed of the villian, burning him alive with a Molotov cocktail. Speaking of cocktails, I hope nobody again tells me about the Sputnik cocktail. It is composed of 7/8 Vodka and 1/8 sour grapes.

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Thursday, November 21, 1957

Allen Kline, formerly with ECA and now with the Department of Agriculture, came to see me this morning.

Then I went to Cologne and called on the Finnish Trade Commissioner, Mr. Brotherus, and had an interesting conversation with him about Spain, where he resided for a long time.

I next went to see the Ambassador of El Salvador, Mr. Barrientos, and passed a satisfactory half hour with him.

At one o'clock I met Senator Jacob Javits at the Oppenheim banking house. This is the most powerful private banking firm in Germany. We lunched in the partners' room, the only Federal Government representative being Finance Minister Etzel. Javits talked [redacted] freely to them, as they did in return. Most of them were preoccupied with obtaining a reaffirmation from President Eisenhower of the U. S. intention to resort immediately to force directly against the Soviets if the latter commit any aggression against Germany. There was also some apprehension expressed lest the U. S. would be inclined to consider an aggression in Europe a "local" one and that the Soviets might use this method as a commencement of a larger penetration and a later massive attack.

Jack Javits and I rode back together in the car, [redacted] then I went to see Francois Puaux of the French Embassy, Couve being absent,

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